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killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[97]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[98]

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

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Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[99]

[97] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[98] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[99] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

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To the east and west of the Plateau highly contrasting attitudes are observed. In the Plains almost no attention is given to the attainment of puberty. The region does not stand alone in this respect, but is merely one with the entire area east of the Rocky Mountains. On the Coast, however, the occasion is utilized as the basis, or sometimes merely the excuse, for dramatic and rigid ritualization.[100]

It is difficult to see why the Wishram fail to participate in the ceremonial richness of either the Klikitat, on the one hand, or the Coast on the other. Wishram contacts with the Coast are closer, in general, than those of any other southern Plateau group. Furthermore, coastal elaboration did not miss the mouth of the Columbia. The Lower Chinook extend puberty observances over a period of five months. Apparently the Wishram in this case cling to the Plateau pattern with more than usual tenacity in the face of outside influence.

It is even more certain that the Flathead and Kutenai are maintaining a typical Plateau pattern against Plains indifference. Both tribes occupy considerable territory on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains and have not been at all hesitant in accepting many aspects of Plains culture. But in this instance both continue to give ritual attention to the achievement of puberty. The situation is quite different with respect to observances linked with subsequent menstrual periods. The Flathead and Kutenai, together with their Plains neighbors, pay no attention whatever to these occasions. The woman is neither isolated nor subjected to any restrictions. In only one other place in the Plateau is this attitude repeated; that is the Wishram. The eastern cases are readily accountable in terms of adjacent Plains custom, but the Wishram are completely surrounded by tribes that both isolate the woman and restrict her actions at this time. This negative attitude is in keeping, however, with the slight attention given to puberty. Also, the Klamath, some distance southward, are rather indifferent toward these periods. Women belonging to a shaman's household are isolated, but perhaps not others. The Klamath do not affiliate with their neighbors to the south in this respect, for isolation is common in northern California.[101]

Since the ceremonialism of the first period is generally an elaboration upon the behavior pattern of each subsequent menstruation, the latter may well be considered as a basis for the discussion of the former. This of course does not apply to the Wishram, Kutenai, or Flathead.

[100] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 314 ff.

[101] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f.; Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

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MENSTRUAL PRACTICES

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Isolation is everywhere practiced; the menstruant retires to a small hut at some distance from the house. A common hut for all menstruants is recorded only for the Chilcotin, Southern Okanogan, and Nez Percé.[102] The coastal habit of isolation in a screened corner of the house is found as a secondary practice in a continuous distribution from the Klikitat to the Kalispel (including Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil). Elsewhere it is absent. The occurrences indicate diffusion up the Columbia River.

The period of isolation is that of actual menstruation only or else conforms to the pattern number five. The latter custom is found only in the south central Plateau (Klikitat, Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi).

A more or less complete fast is required in only two recorded instances, the Sanpoil and Kalispel. Certain fresh foods are tabu among the Southern Okanogan and the Klikitat, but the custom is more consistent and specific in the Canadian Plateau (Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet, Chilcotin, Carrier). Here fresh meat is invariably tabu and salmon also, except among the Thompson. In marked contrast to the Sanpoil, much of the south central area lacks food tabus entirely (Wenatchi, Kittitas, Umatilla, Tenino?). In the extreme south, the Klamath forbid both fresh meat and fish to the menstruant; this is consonant with northern California practice. The widespread tabu against fresh meat is thus broken only in the south central Plateau.[103]

A scratcher, usually a pointed stick, is used in some places so that the menstruant may avoid direct contact of the fingers with the body, especially the head. But this practice is much less extensive for the menstruant than for the pubescent. The instances are Klamath, Klikitat, Sanpoil, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Carrier; absent: Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Kalispel, Lillooet, Thompson, Coeur d'Alêne. The longitudinal spread is impressive, even though interrupted.

All except the last of these distributions tend to exhibit a south central area in contrast to a northern one, with the Athabascans included in the latter. The Klamath stand somewhat apart, facing southward in some respects. All of the traits noted have distributions outside the Plateau, especially in California.

[102] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 111 f.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 198.

[103] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 134; Cline, *loc. cit.*; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f., cf. p. 316.

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The central groups, notably the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan, place strong emphasis on the contaminating properties of blood. Most of the tabus are explained, or at least rationalized, in such terms. The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating women from contaminating other people and things argues against too literal acceptance of the declarations that menstruants are always isolated. There are not only tabus, but remedies in case these are broken. In the central Plateau the menstruant is not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She is forbidden to walk around the head of a bed, to take water from certain sources, to touch weapons, and the like. Yet in the menstrual hut there is no opportunity for such actions. But in fact much of the ill that befalls a household is attributed to the harmful influences of menstruating women.[104]

Puberty Isolation and Training

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In the southern Plateau, excepting the Klamath, the puberty ritual is essentially the menstrual ritual somewhat more elaborated. For example, the Southern Okanogan girl

> left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red and yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from. . . . She remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. . . . When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon a long period of purification. . . . According to varying report, this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal of individual and local variation.[105]

The long duration is reminiscent of northern practice. Among the Sanpoil, isolation lasts but ten days. Other details are closely similar, except that the girl is expected to engage in a certain amount of early morning exercise, especially running about the hills. This, too, is a northern custom, but is not unknown elsewhere.

[104] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 134 f.
[105] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 110 f.

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Farther south the practices are even simpler; special dress and hairdress are infrequent. Duration is short and fixed, usually at five days. The Tenino observe a ten day period, paralleling the Sanpoil (also northern California). Stale food is prohibited by the Klikitat, fresh food by the Umatilla. The Kittitas and Wenatchi observe a nominally complete fast. The Tenino have a common hut for all pubescents; at least so I have recorded. This is quite foreign to Plateau usage although there is a suggestion of it for the Southern Okanogan.[108]

The Flathead pattern incorporates a number of these practices but does not involve actual isolation. The principal and prescribed activity of the four day period is the gathering of large quantities of wood which anyone may appropriate. The following month the procedure is repeated.

The Kutenai ritual, in contrast, is highly specialized. The girl is isolated, either summer or winter, in a conical hut of bark. No food tabus are enforced, but water is restricted in quantity. She must not speak to anyone except her mother, who serves as proctor. Leading from the hut is a path of poles upon which the girl must walk when she leaves the shelter. Under no circumstances may she step directly on the ground. Inside is an elevated platform of poles on which she sits. Her fingers, and also her toes, are twined together with string so that they may not be separated. This is to insure against stiffening of the fingers in later life. At the end of five days the proctor rebraids the girl's hair and tightens the twining of the fingers and toes. On the tenth day she bathes in a stream and returns to camp, but continues to eat apart for some time. One year later these observances are repeated, but this time for five days only.

Among the Canadian Salish the occasion is utilized primarily as a formal training period. The practices of the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap are fairly similar; those of the Kalispel belong here, too, though less elaborate. A résumé of Thompson practices will provide the picture. The pubescent is at once isolated in a conical hut. A girl sometimes moves to the mountains, accompanied by her parents. She wears a conical headdress of fir twigs during the first four days. For this period she does not wash or eat and drinks but little water. Inside the hut she squats on her heels, often in a pit which almost conceals her. She is wrapped in a heavy blanket, which she wears almost continuously. During the nights she runs about the hills; collects quantities of

[108] Cline, *loc. cit.*

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wood which she burns; sings, dances, and prays. She digs trenches in the ground and carries heavy rocks about. She also engages in a number of arbitrary, time-consuming activities which have no practical purpose. She splits small fir trees from top to bottom and loops and ties the branches of others. For hours she plucks needles from fir boughs.

After the first four days she discards the heavy robe, except at night, and is allowed somewhat greater freedom in her activities. She may eat sparingly, lie down, and comb her hair. She is allowed to bathe but may touch her body only with a brush made of fir twigs. She uses a scratcher and a drinking tube. The arbitrary activities continue, and each night is spent in traveling about the hills and engaging in strenuous activity so that she may be strong and sound as an adult. She returns to her hut at daybreak each morning. Each day she paints her face and arranges her hair in rolls on either side.[107]

The isolation lasts for four months. In earlier times it may have been a year, as it is among the Shuswap. The Lillooet period is much shorter, being only twenty days, but in earlier times it equalled that of the Shuswap. The Kalispel girl remains isolated but five days, the southern pattern. All use the scratcher, and all but the Kalispel the drinking tube. The Kalispel girl does not fast or observe food tabus.

The Carrier and Chilcotin observances are very moderate compared to these. The duration for the former is four or five days, the latter, ten. Both observe a tabu against fresh food and hot food. The Chilcotin use the drinking tube but not the Carrier. The scratcher is common to both. Tattooing is done at this time by the Chilcotin. Neither have the hair dress with rolls at the side of the head. The period is one of isolation but not of vigorous exercise.

Dance of Notification

The ritualism of the Wishram and Klamath conforms to quite a different pattern. The Klikitat also participate in this tradition as well as in that described above. Instead of complete isolation or prolonged training, the ritual is here one of notification with public dancing as a central feature.

Spier has defined the area of which this ritual is characteristic, and has described the type:

> In Oregon and northern California there was a dance in which the girl participated each night of her period of seclusion. During the day she lay

[107] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 311–17.

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quietly at home or in a hut, alternating this with periods of strenuous activity, gathering firewood or uselessly piling logs. At dawn she ran toward the east. She wore a feather visor or her head was covered to hold her gaze averted whenever she emerged. Two dance forms occurred together: a circling ring and a line abreast trotting to and fro. Their accompaniment was a deer-hoof rattle; the songs related to men and women or to food products. The duration of the rite was quite consistently five or ten days. In Oregon at least this was the occasion for a vision quest. Throughout the region the performance was repeated at one or more subsequent illnesses.[108]

Specifically, among the Wishram, the duration is five days during which a dance is held each night. On the final evening the girl appears decorated with bead necklaces. These and other gifts are distributed among the guests.[109]

The Klikitat ritual is considerably more elaborate. Both the round dance and the abreast dance are performed. The girl stands in the center and sings but does not dance. The songs are "women's songs" or "love songs." The deer hoof rattle and hand drums are used. Gifts are distributed during the dancing. When a gift is displayed a dancer desiring it raises his hand in indication. Upon receiving it he dances about holding it aloft. A feature of the ritualism is a symbolic washing of the girl by her grandmother. The dances last for five nights and are repeated at a later time.

Among the Klamath the girl herself dances throughout the night. The guests both dance and sing. The girl dances with downcast eyes. The hairdress is related to that encountered before; the braids are arranged to form two clubs which are bound with braided cords. Buckbrush bands are worn around the neck, wrists, ankles, below the knees, and around the waist.[110]

General

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The groups just discussed clearly affiliate with others who practice partial isolation coupled with a dance of notification, as depicted by Spier. This includes northern California and the southernmost coast of Oregon. But the remainder of the Oregon coast lacks the dance. The Tillamook are a possible exception. In describing the observances by the Tillamook girl, Boas states, "Sometimes she would dance during the night." Barnett questions the presence of the dance of notification,

[108] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 318.
[109] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.
[110] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70.